

Message Text

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SUBJECT:PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT ROBERT KEATLEY FRONT PAGE BYLINER, WEDNESDAY, MAY 21, WALL STREET JOURNAL, HEADLIED "TOUGH-ING IT OUT: KISSINGER'S PRESTIGE SLUMPS IN CONGRESS, BUT HE PLANS TO STAY."
2. TO HEAR JESSE HELMS TELL IT, HENRY KISSINGER IS A BURNT-OUT CASE.
3. THE ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE NORTH CAROLINA REPUBLICAN SENATOR CONTENTS THE SECRETARY OF STATE'S "ABILITY TO COPE WITH REALITY HAS RUN ITS COURSE...HIS USEFULNESS AS A NEGOTIATOR IS ENDED.... IT IS CLEAR THAT A FRESH START MUST BE MADE BY SOMEONE WHO CAN HAVE THE CONFIDENCE OF ALL SIDES, INCLUDING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE."
4. LIKewise, LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC SEN. ADLAI STEVENSON OF UNCLASSIFIED

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ILLINOIS CLAIMS THE COUNTRY NEEDS A SENIOR DIPLOMAT WHO "COULD RESTORE CONFIDENCE AT HOME AND ABROAD IN THE CONDUCT OF THE NATION'S MOST VITAL AFFAIRS -- ITS FOREIGN AFFAIRS." HE DOUBTS HENRY KISSINGER IS UP TO THE TASK.

5. SENS. HELMS AND STEVENSON SELDOM AGREE ABOUT ANYTHING; THUS THE FACT THAT BOTH HAVE LOST CONFIDENCE IN MR. KISSINGER, THE DIPLOMATIC SUPERSTAR OF TWO ADMINISTRATIONS, INDICATES HOW HIS PRESTIGE HAS FALLEN. BOTH HIS POLICIES AND PERSONALITY NOW ROUSE OPPOSITION ON CAPITOL HILL. AFTER THE ACKNOWLEDGED FAILURE IN INDOCHINA, THERE'S UNCERTAINTY THAT THIS OLD EFFECTIVENESS CAN EVER BE REGAINED. A FEW BYSTANDERS -- THE LONG ISLAND NEWSPAPER NEWSDAY AND FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY CLARK CLIFFORD, FOR EXAMPLE -- HAVE DEMANDED THAT HE QUIT.

HE WINS FORD'S PRAISE

6. HE ALMOST CERTAINLY WON'T. PRESIDENT FORD REPEATEDLY LAUDS MR. KISSINGER'S ABILITIES ("A PERSON OF UNBELIEVABLE WISDOM") AND HAS ASKED HIM TO STAY THROUGH 1976; MR. KISSINGER SAYS HE WILL. IT'S WIDELY BELIEVED THE PRESIDENT FEELS UNSKILLED IN DIPLOMATIC MATTERS AND NEEDS THE SECRETARY TO FORMULATE AND CONDUCT POLICY.

7. "...THE TRUTH OF THE MATTER IS THAT KISSINGER IS EXTREMELY CLOSE TO PRESIDENT FORD," SAYS HOUSE DEMOCRATIC LEADER THOMAS P. (TIP) O'NEILL OF MASSACHUSETTS. "THERE'S NO QUESTION THAT PRESIDENT FORD IS NO AUTHORITY OR HAS NEVER BEEN AN AUTHORITY ON FOREIGN POLICY, IN MY OPINION."

8. THUS IT SEEMS MR. KISSINGER WILL REMAIN IN WASHINGTON TO BE KICKED AROUND SOME MORE. HE HAS MANAGED AN UNEVEN, UNAVOIDABLE BUT SOMETIMES UNPLANNED RETRENCHMENT OF AMERICAN POWER SINCE 1968, AND HE FEELS HIS TALENTS ARE NEEDED DURING DIFFICULT DAYS AHEAD. PURSUING MIDEAST PEACE, DETENTE WITH THE COMMUNIST WORLD AND STRATEGIC ARMS CONTROL ARE AMONG THE PRESSING CHORES PREOCCUPYING HIM -- PLUS THE GENERAL GOAL OF MAINTAINING OR RESTORING AMERICAN CREDIBILITY ABROAD.

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9. "THIS IS NOT A TIME IN WHICH I CAN LEAVE," HE TOLD AN INTERVIEWER RECENTLY.

HE RETAINS SOME ASSETS

10. FOR THE TASKS CONFRONTING HIM, THE SECRETARY RETAINS SOME STRENGTHS. HE BELIEVES THAT U.S. CREDIBILITY, AND PROBABLY HIS OWN, WAS BOOSTED LAST WEEK BY THE MAYAGUEZ INCIDENT. ARAB LEADERS SUCH AS EGYPT'S PRESIDENT ANWAR SADAT STILL CALL HIM "MY FRIEND, HENRY" AND RELY ON HIM -- MORE THAN ON THE SOVIETS -- TO BRING MIDEAST PEACE CLOSER. MR. KISSINGER ALSO HAS UNIQUE RELATIONSHIPS WITH RUSSIAN AND CHINESE LEADERS THAT A REPLACEMENT COULDN'T EASILY

ASSUME.

11. MANY WEST EUROPEANS DO HAVE DOUBTS ABOUT HIM ("I NEVER KNOW IF HE TELLS ME THINGS BECAUSE THEY'RE THE TRUTH OR BECAUSE HE'S AFTER A CERTAIN RESPONSE," SAYS ONE DIPLOMAT WHO DEALS OFTEN WITH THE SECRETARY). BUT THEY EXPECT WASHINGTON TO SPEND MORE TIME ON THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE NOW THAT THE INDOCHINA WAR IS OVER, AND THEY WELCOME IT. THIS WEEK, IN FACT, MR. KISSINGER IS ON THE ROAD IN EUROPE PURSUING ALLIANCE WITH GERMANY AND GREEK-TURKISH PROGRESS ON CYPRUS, AS WELL AS DETENTE WITH RUSSIA. (TWO DAYS OF TALKS WITH SOVIET FOREIGN MINISTER ANDREI GROMYKO IN VIENNA ENDED IN NO APPARENT AGREEMENT EXCEPT TO MEET AGAIN IN A COUPLE OF MONTHS.)

12. BUT CONGRESSIONAL DISTRUST WILL MAKE IT HARD FOR THE NATION'S TOP DIPLOMAT TO CARRY ON EFFECTIVELY -- THOUGH FEW WANT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR FORCING THE SECRETARY TO RESIGN. LEGISLATORS FREQUENTLY DISBELIEVE WHAT MR. KISSINGER (OR THE PRESIDENT) TELLS THEM AND SUSPECT THAT DEVIIOUS PURPOSES LURK BEHIND EACH PUBLIC STATEMENT. FOR EXAMPLE, MANY CLAIMED THE RECENT REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY TO USE MILITARY FORCE TO HELP IN THE SAIGON EVACUATION WAS REALLY A PLOT TO GET AMERICA BACK INTO THE WAR -- THOUGH STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS CALL THAT WORRY IRRATIONAL AT BEST.

DISTRUST ON OTHER ISSUES

13. THE DISTRUST EXTENDS TO ISSUES FAR REMOVED FROM INDO-UNCLASSIFIED

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CHINA. IMPORTANT LAWMAKERS CONTEND SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS DECEIVED THEM ON SUCH DIVERSE MATTERS AS MILITARY AID FOR TURKEY, JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE SOVIET UNION AND NUCLEAR ARMS CONTROL. THE SUSPICIONS COMPLICATED HIS EFFORTS TO CONDUCT A COHERENT, BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY, FOR CONGRESS OFTEN REACTS BY BLOCKING MAJOR AID, TRADE AND OTHER PROPOSALS. HOWEVER, IT'S MAINLY THE SECRETARY'S FAULT, LEGISLATORS ARGUE.

14. "DR. KISSINGER HAS REAL PROBLEMS BECAUSE HE HAS NOT MADE FULL DISCLOSURE TO THE CONGRESS," INSISTS DEMOCRATIC SEN. HENRY JACKSON OF WASHINGTON, WHO IS CAMPAIGNING FOR THE PRESIDENCY IN PART BY ATTACKING KISSINGER DIPLOMACY. WARNS THE USUALLY FRIENDLY REPUBLICAN SEN. CHARLES MATHIAS OF MARYLAND, "THE STATE DEPARTMENT IS TOO USED TO TELLING US, NOT CONSULTING WITH US -- AND THEY CAN'T DO THAT ANY MORE."

15. STATE DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS ARE IN DESPAIR ABOUT HOW TO DEAL WITH THE INCREASINGLY BALKY CONGRESS. THE TRADITIONAL WAYS DON'T WORK. CONSULTING THE LEADERSHIP OFTEN DOES

LITTLE GOOD; HOUSE AND SENATE LEADERS, PLUS KEY COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN, MAY AGREE TO SUPPORT DEPARTMENT POLICIES -- ONLY TO HAVE OTHER LEGISLATORS LEAD SUCCESSFUL CAMPAIGNS OF OPPOSITION.

16. "SO WHAT DO YOU DO?" ASKS AN ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE PLAINTIVELY. "THERE ARE NO REAL LEADERS UP THERE."

17. ONE THING TO DO IS TO BROADEN THE DEPARTMENT'S CAPITOL HILL LOBBYING, AND MR. KISSINGER HAS BEGUN A SERIOUS EFFORT IN THAT DIRECTION. ONETIME PRESS SPOKESMAN ROBERT J. MCCLOSKEY HAS BEEN NAMED ASSISTANT SECRETARY OF STATE FOR CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS, REPLACING AN INEFFECTIVE PREDECESSOR. MR. MCCLOSKEY, A MAN WHOSE ENTHUSIASM FOR SECRETARY KISSINGER HAS LIMITS, IS AN ARTICULATE EXPLAINER OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY, AND HIS AUTONOMY VIS-A-VIS THE SECRETARY SHOULD HELP ESTABLISH PERSONAL CREDIBILITY. MANY LEGISLATORS COMPLAIN MR. KISSINGER HAS GENERALLY SENT FLUNKIES WHO CAN'T DEVIATE ONE WORD FROM ANY MESSAGE
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HE HAS INSTRUCTED THEM TO DELIVER. "THEY'RE USUALLY RIGHT" CONCEDES ONE OF THE MESSAGE-CARRIERS.

18. THERE ARE ALSO PLANS TO BRIEF MORE LEGISLATORS MORE OFTEN ON POLICY MATTERS. THE DEPARTMENT WILL NO LONGER IGNORE DEMOCRATIC SEN. DANIEL INOUE OF HAWAII, WHO HEADS AN IMPORTANT APPROPRIATIONS SUBCOMMITTEE DEALING WITH FOREIGN AID; PREVIOUSLY MR. KISSINGER CONCENTRATED ON THE COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN, JOHN MCCLELLAN OF ARKANSAS, WHO USUALLY OPPOSES AID ANYWAY. THE SECRETARY HAS ALSO BEEN PERSUADED THAT TALKING MORE TO DEMOCRATIC REP. DONALD FRASER OF MINNESOTA, AN INFLUENTIAL MEMBER BUT NOT THE CHAIRMAN OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS COMMITTEE, MIGHT HELP HIS CAUSE. BUT GETTING MR. KISSINGER TO WORK ON LOWERRANKING MEMBERS IS OFTEN DIFFICULT; HE PREFERS TO DEAL WITH CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS (MUCH AS HE DEALS WITH TOP FOREIGN LEADERS, AND NOT THEIR SUBORDINATES).

19. THE DIPLOMATS WILL ALSO MAKE NEW EFFORTS TO REACH THE PUBLIC AND PRESS, PARTICULARLY OUTSIDE WASHINGTON. THEY NOW REALIZE THAT THEIR PROBLEMS OFTEN REFLECT BROAD DISENCHANTMENT WITH U.S. INVOLVEMENTS OVERSEAS. SO MR. KISSINGER APPEARED LAST WEEK IN KANSAS CITY AND ST. LOUIS FOR SPEECHES AND PRESS CONFERENCES

20. LIKE SO MUCH THAT SEEMS WRONG WITH AMERICA THESE DAYS, MANY CONGRESSMEN SAY THEIR TROUBLE WITH THE STATE DEPARTMENT GREW OUT OF THE VIETNAM WAR. THEY AGREE THAT MR. KISSINGER INHERITED THIS PROBLEM WHEN HE JOINED THE GOVERN-

MENT, BUT SAY HE MADE THINGS WORSE BY DISSEMBLING ON VIET-

NAM AND OTHER ISSUES.

21. THE HISTORICAL ORIGINS ARE COMPLEX, BUT ONE ITEM OFTEN MENTIONED IS THE 1964 GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION. PRESIDENT JOHNSON USED A GUNBOAT SKIRMISH OFF NORTH VIETNAM TO WIN CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR EXPANDING THE U.S. ROLE IN INDOCHINA. GRADUALLY, MANY IN CONGRESS DECIDED THEY HAD BEEN CONNED, AND VOWED NEVER AGAIN. THEY BECAME INCREASINGLY SKEPTICAL ABOUT FOREIGN POLICY CLAIMS FROM WHATEVER ADMINISTRATION WAS IN POWER.
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22. "THE GULF OF TONKIN RESOLUTION MARKED THE LAST TIME THE CONGRESS ACCEPTED THE ADMINISTRATION LINE WHOLESALE," SAYS A KEY CAPITOL HILL STAFFER.

23. THUS HENRY KISINGER FACED -- BUT FOR YEARS DIDN'T ACCEPT -- A GROWING CONGRESSIONAL DETERMINATION TO HELP FORMULATE FOREIGN POLICY. HE RELIED ON THE TRADITIONAL CAPITOL HILL LEADERSHIP, WHICH ITSELF GREW OUT OF TOUCH WITH A CHANGING CONGRESS, AND HE BECAME ANGRY WHEN VOTES BEGAN TO GO AGAINST HIM. YET HE DIDN'T SEEM TO GRASP WHY.

24. "IT'S AMAZING THAT A MAN WHO IS SO SENSITIVE TO NUANCES OF FOREIGN CULTURES IN FARAWAY LANDS IS SO INSENSITIVE TO THE SENTIMENT IN HIS OWN COUNTRY AND IN THE CONGRESS," SAYS THE CHAIRMAN OF AN IMPORTANT HOUSE COMMITTEE.

25. BASICALLY, CONGRESS FEELS ITS CONSTITUTIONAL ROLE IN GUIDING FOREIGN POLICY HAS BEEN USURPED, AND IT WANTS THAT POWER RESTORED. THUS IT USES LEGISLATIVE WEAPONS AS NEVER BEFORE -- CUTTING BUDGETS WHEN IT FEELS AID PROGRAMS SUPPORT UNWISE POLICIES, OR LEGISLATING FLAT PROHIBITIONS AGAINST CERTAIN ACTIVITIES. THIS INDEPENDENCE WAS SHOWN MONDAY WHEN THE SENATE VOTED ONLY 41-40 TO PERMIT ARMS AID TO TURKEY, DESPITE STRONG ADMINISTRATION PRESSURE AND HELP FROM SENATE LEADERS; CHANCES OF HOUSE APPROVAL REMAIN DIM.

26. THOUGH MR. KISSINGER CLAIMS CONGRESS' ACTIONS OFTEN HURT RATHER THAN HELP AMERICAN INTERESTS, MANY MEMBERS REMAIN UNCONVINCED -- PARTLY BECAUSE THE SECRETARY IS NO LONGER TRUSTED AS IN HIS SUPERSTAR DAYS. MANY LEGISLATORS CLAIM HE HAS DELIBERATELY MISLED THEM, EVEN LIED TO THEM. "HE'S THE MOST DUPLICITOUS MAN WE'VE HAD TO DEAL WITH IN 20 YEARS," COMPLAINS ONE HOUSE MEMBER WHO OFTEN RUNS AFOUL OF MR. KISSINGER. "I DON'T TRUST HIM AS FAR AS MY HAND."

27. THIS CREDIBILITY PROBLEM DERIVES IN PART FROM THE COMPLEX KISSINGER PERSONALITY. HE CAN BE EITHER OVERPOWERING OR INSECURE, PATIENT OR ABRUPT, CANDID OR DEVIOUS. BUT HE

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IS BY NATURE SECRETIVE, AND THAT TRAIT FEEDS CONGRESSIONAL DISTRUST. MEMBERS ASSUME IMPORTANT INFORMATION IS WITHHELD OR SLANTED. SEN. JACKSON, FOR ONE BELIEVES THE SECRETARY MISLED HIM ON NEGOTIATIONS ABOUT EXCHANGING TRADE CONCESSIONS FOR JEWISH EMIGRATION FROM THE USSR. LIKEWISE, DEMOCRATIC REP. JOHN BRADEMAS OF INDIANA SAYS MR. KISSINGER DECEIVED HIM BY CLAIMING HE WAS PRESSURING TURKEY TO OFFER CONCESSIONS TO GREECE ABOUT CYPRUS.

28. ANOTHER COMPLAINT IS THAT MR. KISSINGER'S "BACKGROUND" COMMENTS DON'T ALWAYS JIBE WITH HIS PUBLIC STATEMENTS. MOST NOTABLY, HE PRIVATELY CRITICIZES ISRAEL FOR LETTING MIDEAST PEACE TALKS BREAK DOWN BUT WON'T DO SO FOR THE RECORD. THIS ANGERS ISRAEL'S DEFENDERS AND HURTS THE KISSINGER CREDIBILITY. MR. MCCLOSKEY AGREES A CHANGE IS NEEDED: "...THE ABILITY OF THE EXECUTIVE TO SPEAK WITH ONE VOICE, IF NOT NECESSARILY USING THE SAME WORDS BY EVERY SPOKESMAN, DOES ENHANCE CREDIBILITY AND CERTAINLY CONTRIBUTES TO GREATER PUBLIC UNDERSTANDING."

29. THE KISSINGER MANNER OFTEN HARMS HIS CAUSE, TOO. HE IS SO INTELLIGENT AND ARTICULATE THAT HE "MESMERIZES" CONGRESSMEN, REP. O'NEILL SAYS. BUT SOME LEGISLATORS, WITH A LIMITED GRASP OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, RESENT THE SECRETARY'S OBVIOUS INTELLECTUAL SUPERIORITY WHEN HE GIVES THEM THE TREATMENT; THEY CONCLUDE HE IS CONTEMPTUOUS OF THEIR LESS-INFORMED VIEWS. ("HE HAS EVERY REASON TO BE," SAYS ONE SENATOR ONLY HALF-JOKINGLY.) THIS FEELING CREATES A BARRIER THAT DOESN'T HELP THE CHIEF DIPLOMAT LASSO VOTES.

30. "HIS NATURAL DISPOSITION IS IMPERIAL, HIS NATURAL REACTION IS THAT HE KNOWS MORE ABOUT ANY SUBJECT THAN DO ALL OTHERS," SAYS A KISSINGER AIDE.

31. BUT THE STATE DEPARTMENT PEOPLE HAVE SOME LEGITIMATE GRIPEs OF THEIR OWN. WHEN SECRETARY KISSINGER RETURNED LAST TIME FROM THE MIDEAST, HE PROMPTLY APPEARED BEFORE THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE TO EXPLAIN WHAT HAD GONE WRONG WITH THIS MAJOR AMERICAN DIPLOMATIC EFFORT. ONLY THREE OF 17 MEMBERS BOTHERED TO SHOW UP, AND THE CHAIRMAN

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-- ELDERLY SEN. JOHN SPARKMAN -- QUICKLY FELL ASLEEP.

32. DESPITE THAT APATHETIC RECEPTION, MR. KISSINGER REMAINS THE STAR OF A RATHER DULL FORD ADMINISTRATION. IN A RECENT PUBLIC BROADCASTING SYSTEM INTERVIEW, HOUSE DEMO-

CRATIC LEADER O'NEILL NOTED: "IF WE TAKE ANY ONE OF THE CABINET MEMBERS AND INVITE THEM TO ADDRESS THE CONGRESS... WE'RE LUCKY IF WE CAN GET 20 MEMBERS, 25 MEMBERS, 30 MEMBERS. BUT YOU INVITE KISSINGER...AND YOU'RE GOING TO GET 200, 250, 300 MEMBERS. THERE'S GOING TO BE A DIALOG, A COLLOQUY LIKE YOU'VE NEVER SEEN...."

33. THUS RELATIVELY FEW LEGISLATORS ACTUALLY WANT MR. KISSINGER FIRED; MOST JUST WANT HIM TO CHANGE CERTAIN WAYS. "THERE'S NO CRUSADE UP HERE TO GET HIM OUT," INSISTS THE OFTEN-CRITICAL REP. BRADEMAS, "THOUGH THERE IS APPREHENSION THAT WE AREN'T BEING GIVEN STRAIGHT TALK." THE PUBLIC SEEMS TO WANT THE SECRETARY TO STAY ON. A RECENT GALLUP POLL FOUND 56 GIVING HIM A POSITIVE RATING, AND ONLY 25 VOTING NEGATIVELY.

34. IN PART, THE SECRETARY'S PROBLEM MAY JUST BE THAT HE HAS BEEN AROUND SO LONG AND HAS BECOME VICTIM OF A PECULIARLY AMERICAN TENDENCY: IF A MAN STANDS ON A PEDESTAL LONG ENOUGH, PEOPLE BEGIN TO THROW THINGS.

35. "THE TROUBLE WITH THIS COUNTRY IS, YOU GET A WINNER AND YOU HAVEN'T GOT ENOUGH SENSE TO HOLD ONTO HIM," COMPLAINS SENATE REPUBLICAN LEADER HUGH SCOTT OF PENNSYLVANIA, ONE OF MR. KISSINGER'S DEFENDERS. HOWEVER, HE ADDS, "I THINK HE IS SAFE." (END TEXT) INGERSOLL

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